/165 cont./

126 439 184 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.

126 439 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Nevertheless, the trade was most happily made.

437 The coca pouches of our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

● 43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 437 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that everybody knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

6: Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

[Mosoco]

/313/

128 244 43 We present below a statistical table on the potato production of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

/313 cont./ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.°	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	26,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	140,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	140,00	48,7	42	84,00	244,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

/314/ [Mosoco]

244
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465

Families	Planting A	Harvest A	Sales A	Sales $	Sales %	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest $	Costs $
1.	20	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		58,60 (17)
	40 (16)	20	...	....	...	20	40,00		.....
	70	70	...	....	...	70	140,00	140,00	58,60
8.	40	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		.....
	20 (16)	10	...	....	...	20	40,00		.....
	60	30	...	....	...	60	120,00	120,00	.....
9.	35	35	16	72,00		17	34,00		.....
	40 (16)	--	...	....		--	....		58,60
	55	35	16	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	58,60
10.	40	200	140	480,00		60	120,00		.....
	30	50	...	....		50	100,00		.....
	70	250	140	480,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	.....
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		.....
	20 (16)	15	...	....		15	30,00		.....
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	.....
12.	30	100	70	350,00		30	60,00		99,00 (18)
	30	80	70	350,00		20	40,00		20,00
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	50	100,00	800,00	119,00
13.	40	80	50	250,00		30	60,00		.....
	35 (16)	35	...	....		35	70,00		.....
	75	115	50	250,00	43,4	65	130,00	380,00	.....
14.	30	60	24	108,00		36	72,00		.....
	30 (16)	40	8	28,00		32	64,00		.....
	60	100	32	136,00	32,0	68	136,00	372,00	.....
15.	20	160	100	600,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)
	30	100	24	120,00		76	152,00		30,00
	50	260	124	720,00	47,6	136	272,00	992,00	105,00
16.	25	100	50	250,00		50	100,00		.....
	25	60	24	120,00		36	72,00		.....
	50	160	74	370,00	46,2	86	172,00	542,00	.....

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

/315/ [Mosoco]

244
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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
17.	...	...	...	....	...	...	.....	.....	.....
18.	70	700	665	1.732,00		254	500,00		389,20 (19)
	127 (15)	274	81	259,00		193	386,00		.....
	197	974	527	1.991,00	54,1	447	886,00	2.877,00	389,20
19.	30	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		45,00
	25	35	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,70 (20)
	55	335	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,70
20.	50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(21) 60'22
	30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		.....
	80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	73,00
21.	20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00		.....
	20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		.....
	40	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	.....
22.	5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		.....
	5 (16)	5	...	....		5	10,00		.....
	10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	.....
23.	30	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		.....
	30 (16)	30	...	....		30	60,00		133,00 (17)
	60	90	30	120,00	37,5	60	120,00	220,00	133,00
	30 (16)	30	...	....		30	60,00		.....
	30	60	8	32,00		32	64,00		125,00
	60	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	125,00
25.*	130 (22)	530	500	3.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	3.175,00	1.762,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

o

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
● 43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
● 43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.